SIR FRANCIS BACON HIS APOLOGIE, IN CERTAINE imputations concerning the late *Earle of Essex.*

VVritten to the right Honorable his very good Lord, the Earle *of Deuonshire, Lord Lieute*nant of Ireland.

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TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE HIS VERIE GOOD LORD, THE *Earle of Deuonſhire, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.*

IT may pleaſe your good Lordſhip: I cannot be ignorant, and ought to be ſenſible of the wrong which I ſuſtaine in common ſpeech, as if I had bene falſe, or vnthankfull to that noble but vnfortunate Earle the Earle of *Eſſex*: And for ſatisfying the vulgar ſort, I do not ſo much re-

gard it; though I loue good name, but yet as an handmaid and attendant of honeſtie and vertue. For I am of his opinion that ſaid pleaſantly, *That it was a ſhame to him that was a ſuter to the Miſtreſſe, to make loue to the wayting woman*; and therefore to woo or court common fame otherwiſe then it followeth vpon honeſt courſes, I for my part, finde not my ſelfe fit nor diſpoſed. But on the other ſide, there is no worldly thing that concerneth my ſelfe, which I hold more deare, then the good opinion of certaine perſons; amongſt which there is none I would more willingly giue ſatisfactiō vnto, then to your Lordſhip. Firſt, becauſe you loued my Lord of *Eſſex*, and therefore will not be partiall towards me; which

which is part of that I desire: next, because it hath euer pleased you to shew your selfe to me an honorable friend; and so no baseneſſe in me to seeke to satisfie you: and lastly, because I know your Lordship is excellently grounded in the true rules and habits of duties and moralities; which must be they which shal decide this matter: wherin (my Lord) my defence needeth to be but simple and briefe: namely, that whatsoeuer I did concerning that action and proceeding, was done in my dutie and seruice to the Queene and the State; in which I would not shew my selfe false hearted nor faint hearted for anie mans sake liuing. For euerie honest man, that hath his heart well planted, will

forſake his King rather then forſake God, and forſake his friend rather then forſake his King; and yet will forſake any earthly commoditie, yea and his owne life in ſome caſes, rather then forſake his friend. I hope the world hath not forgotten theſe degrees, elſe the heathen ſaying: *Amicus vſque ad aras*, ſhal iudge them. And if anie man ſhall ſay, that I did officiouſly intrude my ſelfe into that buſineſſe, becauſe I had no ordinary place; the like may be ſaid of all the buſineſſe in effect that paſſed the hands of the learned counſell, either of State or Reuenues theſe manie yeares, wherein I was continually vſed. For, as your Lordſhip may remember, the Queene knewe her ſtrength ſo well, as ſhe looked her word

word ſhould be a warrant; and after the manner of the choiſeſt Princes before her, did not alwayes tye her truſt to place, but did ſometime deuide priuate fauor from office. And I for my part, though I was not ſo vnſeene in the world, but I knewe the condition was ſubiect to enuie and perill; yet becauſe I knew againe ſhe was conſtant in her fauours, and made an end where ſhe began, and ſpecially, becauſe ſhe vpheld me with extraordinarie acceſſe, and other demonſtrations of confidence and grace, I reſolued to endure it in expectation of better. But my ſcope & deſire is, that your Lordſhip wold be pleaſed to haue the honourable patience, to know the truth in ſome particularitie of all that paſſed in this

cauſe wherein I had any part, that you may perceiue howe honeſt a heart I euer bare to my Soueraigne and to my Countrey, & to that Noble man, who had ſo well deſerued of me, and ſo well accepted of my deſeruings; whoſe fortune I cannot remember without much griefe. But for anie action of mine towards him, there is nothing that paſſed me in my life time, that cometh to my remembrance with more clearneſſe and leſſe checke of conſcience: for it wil appeare to your Lordſhip, that I was not onely not oppoſite to my Lord of *Eſſex*, but that I did occupy the vtmoſt of my wits, and aduenture my fortune with the Queene to haue reintegrated his, and ſo continued faithfully and induſtriouſly till

till his laſt fatall impatience, (for ſo I wil call it) after which day there was not time to worke for him, though the ſame my affectiō when it could not worke vpon the ſubiect proper, went to the next, with no ill effect towards ſome others, who I thinke do rather not know it, then not acknowledge it. And this I will aſſure your Lordſhip, I will leaue nothing vntold that is truth, for anie enemie that I haue to adde; & on the other ſide, I muſt reſerue much which makes for me, vpon manie reſpects of dutie, which I eſteeme aboue my credite: and what I haue here ſet downe to your Lordſhip, I proteſt, as I hope to haue any part in Gods fauour, is true.

It is wel knowne, how I did many

yeares ſince dedicate my trauels and ſtudies to the vſe & (as I may terme it) ſeruice of my Lord of *Eſſex*, which, I proteſt before God, I did not, making election of him as the likelieſt meane of mine owne aduancement, but out of the humor of a man, that euer, from the time I had anie vſe of reaſon, (whether it were reading vpon good bookes, or vpon the example of a good father, or by nature) I loued my countrey more then was anſwerable to my fortune, and I held at that time, my Lord to be the fitteſt inſtrument to do good to the State: and therefore I applied my ſelfe to him, in a manner which I thinke happeneth rarely amongſt men: for I did not only labour carefully and induſtriouſly in that he ſet me

me about, whether it were matter of aduice or otherwiſe, but neglecting the Queenes ſeruice, mine owne fortune, and in a ſort my vocation, I did nothing but deuiſe and ruminate with my ſelfe to the beſt of my vnderſtanding, propoſitions & memorials, of any thing that might cõcerne his Lordſhips honor, fortune or ſeruice. And when not long after I entred into this courſe, my brother Maiſter *Anthony Bacon* came from beyond the ſeas, being a Gentleman whoſe abilitie the world taketh knowledge of for matters of State, ſpecially forreine; I did likewiſe knit his ſeruice to be at my Lords diſpoſing. And on the other ſide, I muſt & will euer acknowledge my Lords loue, truſt, and fauour towards me;

laſt of all his liberalitie, hauing infeoffed me of land which I ſold for eighteene hundred pounds to Maiſter *Reynold Nicholas*, and I thinke was more worth, and that at ſuch a time, and with ſo kinde and noble circumſtances, as the maner was as much as the matter: which though it be but an idle digreſſion, yet becauſe I am not willing to be ſhort in commemoration of his benefites, I will preſume to trouble your Lordſhip with the relating to you the maner of it. After the Queene had denied me the Sollicitors place, for the which his Lordſhip had bene a long and earneſt ſutor on my behalfe, it pleaſed him to come to me from *Richmond* to *Twicknam* Parke, and brake with me & ſaid: Maiſter *Bacon*, the

the Queene hath denied me yon place for you, and hath placed another; I know you are the leaſt part of your owne matter, but, you fare ill becauſe you haue choſen mee for your meane and dependance: you haue ſpent your time and thoughts in my matters, I die (theſe were his verie words) if I do not ſomewhat towards your fortune: you ſhall not denie to accept a peece of Land, which I will beſtow vpon you. My anſwer I remember was, that for my fortune it was no great matter: but, that, his Lordſhips offer made me call to minde what was wont to be ſaid when I was in *Fraunce* of the Duke of *Guiſe*, that he was the greateſt vſurer in *Fraunce*, becauſe he had turned all his eſtate into Obli-

gations; meaning that he haſt left him ſelfe nothing, but onely had bound numbers of perſons to him. Now my Lord (ſaid I) I would not haue you imitate his courſe, nor turne your ſtate thus by great giftes into obligations, for you will find many bad debters: he bad me take no care for that, and preſſed it; wherupon I ſaid, My Lord, I ſee I muſt be your homager, and hold land of your gift: but do you know the maner of doing homage in law? alwaies it is with a ſauing of his faith to the King and his other Lords, and therefore my Lord (ſaid I) I can be no more yours then I was, and it muſt be with the auncient ſauings: and if I grow to be a rich man, you will giue me leaue to giue it

it back to ſome of your vnrewarded followers. But to returne, ſure I am (though I can arrogate nothing to my ſelfe, but that I was a faithfull remembrancer to his Lordſhip) that while I had moſt credit with him, his fortune went on beſt. And yet in two maine points we alwaies directly & contradictorily differed, which I wil mention to your Lordſhip, becauſe it giueth light to all that followed. The one was, I euer ſet this downe, that the onely courſe to be held with the Queene, was by obſequiouſneſſe and obſeruance; and I remember I would vſually gage cõfidently, that if he would take that courſe conſtantly, and with choice of good particulars to expreſſe it, the Queene would be brought in

time to *Aſſuerus* queſtion, to aske, *VVhat ſhould be done to the man, that the King wold honour*: meaning, that her goodneſſe was without limite, where there was a true concurrence, which I knew in her nature to be true. My Lord on the other ſide had a ſetled opinion, that the Queene could be brought to nothing, but by a kind of neceſſitie and authority; and I well remember, when by violent courſes at any time he had got his will, he wold aske me: Now Sir, *whoſe principles be true?* and I would againe ſay to him: *My Lord, theſe courſes be like to hote waters, they will helpe at a pang: but if you vſe thē, you ſhall ſpoile the ſtomacke, and you ſhall be faine ſtill to make them ſtronger and ſtronger, and yet in the end they will*

will leſſe their operation: with much other varietie, wherewith I vſed to touch that ſtring. Another point was, that I alwaies vehemently diſſwaded him from ſeeking greatnes by a militarie dependance, or by a popular dependance, as that which would breed in the Queene iealouſie, in himſelfe preſumption, and in the State perturbation: and I did vſually compare them to *Icarus* two wings which were ioyned on with waxe, and would make him venture to ſoare too high, and then faile him at the height. And I would further ſay vnto him: My Lord, ſtand vpon two feet, and flie not vpō two wings. The two feete, are the two kinds of *Iuſtice*, Commutatiue and Diſtributiue: vſe your greatneſſe for

aduancing of merit and vertue, and releeuing wrongs and burdens, you ſhall need no other art or fineneſſe: but he would tell me, that opinion came not from my mind, but from my robe. But it is very true, that I that neuer meant to inthral my ſelfe to my Lord of *Eſſex*, nor any other man, more thē ſtood with the publike good, did (though I could little preuaile) diuert him by all means poſſible from courſes of the warres and popularitie: for I ſaw plainely the Queene muſt either liue or die; if ſhe liued, then the times would be as in the declination of an old Prince; if ſhe died, the times would be as in the beginning of a new: and that if his Lordſhip did riſe too faſt in theſe courſes, the times might be dan-

dangerous for him, and he for them. Nay, I remember I was thus plaine with him vpon his voyage to the Ilands, when I ſaw euery ſpring put foorth ſuch actions of charge and prouocation, that I ſaid to him: My Lord, when I came firſt vnto you, I tooke you for a Phiſition that deſired to cure the diſeaſes of the State; but now I doubt you will be like thoſe Phiſitions, which can be content to keepe their patients low, becauſe they would alwaies be in requeſt: which plaineneſſe he neuertheleſſe tooke very well, as he had an excellent eare, and was *patientiſſimus veri*, and aſſured me the caſe of the Realme required it: and I thinke this ſpeech of mine, and the like renewed afterwards, pricked

him to write that Apologie which is in many mens hands.

But this difference in two points ſo maine and materiall, bred in proceſſe of time a diſcontinuance of priuateneſſe (as it is the manner of men ſeldom to communicate where they thinke their courſes not approued) betweene his Lordſhip and my ſelfe; ſo as I was not called nor aduiſed with, for ſome yeare and a halfe before his Lordſhips going into *Ireland* as in former time: yet neuertheleſſe touching his going into *Ireland*, it pleaſed him expreſly and in a ſet manner to deſire mine opinion and counſell. At which time I did not onely diſſwade, but proteſt againſt his going, telling him with as much vehemencie and aſſeueration as

as I could, that abſence in that kind would exulcerate the Queens mind, whereby it would not be poſſible for him to carrie himſelfe ſo, as to giue her ſufficient contentment: nor for her to carie her ſelfe ſo, as to giue him ſufficient countenance, which would be ill for her, ill for him, and ill for the State. And becauſe I wold omit no argument, I remember I ſtood alſo vpon the difficultie of the action: ſetting before him out of Hiſtories, that the *Iriſh* was ſuch an enemie as the ancient *Gaules*, or *Britons*, or *Germaines* were, and that we ſaw how the *Romans*, who had ſuch diſcipline to gouerne their ſoldiers, and ſuch donatiues to encourage thē, and the whole world in a maner to leauie them; yet when they came

to deale with enemies which placed their felicitie onely in libertie, and the ſharpneſſe of their ſword, and had the naturall and elementall aduantages of woods, and bogges, and hardneſſe of bodies, they euer found they had their hands full of them: and therefore concluded, that going ouer with ſuch expectation as he did, and through the curliſhneſſe of the enterpriſe not like to anſwer it, would mightily diminiſh his reputation; and many other reaſons I vſed, ſo as I am ſure I neuer in any thing in my life time dealt with him in like earneſtnes by ſpeech, by writing, and by all the meanes I could deuiſe. For I did as plainely ſee his ouerthrow chained as it were by deſtinie to that iourney, as it is poſſible for

for any man to ground a iudgment vpon future contingents: But my Lord, howſoeuer his eare was open, yet his heart and reſolution was ſhut againſt that aduice, whereby his ruine might haue bin preuẽted. After my Lords going, I ſaw how true a Prophet I was, in regard of the euident alteration which naturally ſucceeded in the Queens mind; and thereupon I was ſtil in watch to find the beſt occaſion that in the weakeneſſe of my power I could either take or miniſter, to pull him out of the fire if it had bene poſſible: and not long after, me thought I ſaw ſome ouerture thereof, which I apprehended readily; a particularitie I thinke be knowne to very few, and the which I do the rather relate to

your Lordſhip, becauſe I heare it ſhold be talked, that while my Lord was in *Ireland*, I reuealed ſome matter againſt him or I cannot tel what, which if it were not a meere ſlaunder as the reſt is, but had any though neuer ſo litle colour, was ſurely vpon this occaſion. The Queene one day at *Noneſuch*, a litle (as I remember) before *Cuffes* coming ouer, I attending her, ſhewed a paſſionate diſtaſt of my lords proceedings in *Ireland*, as if they were vnfortunate, without iudgement, contemptuous, and not without ſome priuate end of his owne; and all that might be, and was pleaſed as ſhe ſpake of it to many that ſhe truſted leaſt, ſo to fall into the like ſpeech with me; whereupon I who was ſtill awake, and true

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to my grounds which I thought ſureſt for my Lords good, ſaid to this effect: Madame, I know not the particulars of Eſtate, and I know this, that Princes actions muſt haue no abrupt periods or concluſions, but otherwiſe I would thinke, that if you had my Lord of *Eſſex* here with a white ſtaffe in his hand, as my Lord of *Leiceſter* had, and continued him ſtill about you for ſocietie to your ſelfe, and for an honour and ornament to your attendance and Court in the eyes of your people, and in the eyes of forreine Embaſſadours, then were he in his right element: for, to diſcontent him as you do, and yet to put armes and power into his hands, may be a kind of temptation to make him proue cumberſome and vnruly.

And therefore if you would *impone-re bonam clauſulam*, and ſend for him and ſatisfie him with honour here neare you, if your affaires which (as I haue ſaid) I am not acquainted with, wil permit it, I thinke were the beſt way. Which courſe your Lordſhip knoweth, if it had bene taken, then all had bene well, and no contempt in my Lords comming ouer, nor continuance of theſe iealouſies, which that employment of *Ireland* bred, and my Lord here in his former greatneſſe. Wel, the next newes that I heard, was, that my Lord was come ouer, and that he was committed to his chamber for leauing *Ireland* without the Queenes licence: this was at *Noneſuch*, where (as my duty was) I came to his Lordſhip

ſhip and talked with him priuately about a quarter of an houre, and he asked mine opinion of the courſe was taken with him; I told him: My Lord, *Nubecula eſt, citò tranſibit:* it is but a miſt: but ſhall I tell your Lordſhip, it is as miſts are, if it go vpwards, it may haps cauſe a ſhower, if downewards, it will cleare vp. And therefore good my Lord carie it ſo, as you take away by all meanes all ombrages and diſtaſts from the Queene, and ſpecially if I were worthie to aduiſe you, (as I haue bene by your ſelf thought, and now your queſtion imports the continuance of that opiniõ) obſerue three points: Firſt, make not this ceſſation or peace which is concluded with *Tyrone*, as a ſeruice wherein you glo-

rie, but as a ſhuffling vp of a proſecution which was not very fortunate. Next, repreſent not to the Queene any neceſſitie of eſtate, whereby as by a coercion or wrench, ſhe ſhould think her ſelfe inforced to ſend you back into *Ireland*, but leaue it to her. Thirdly, ſeeke acceſſe, *importunè*, *oportunè*, ſeriouſly, ſportingly euery way. I remember my Lord was willing to heare me, but ſpake very few words, & ſhaked his head ſometimes, as if he thought I was in the wrong; but ſure I am, he did iuſt cõtrary in euery one of theſe three points. After this, during the while ſince my Lord was committed to my Lord Keepers, I came diuers times to the Queene, as I had vſed to do, about cauſes of her reuenue and law

law buſineſſe, as is well knowne: by reaſon of which acceſſes, according to the ordinarie charities of Court, it was giuẽ out, that I was one of them that incenſed the Queene againſt my Lord of *Eſſex*. Theſe ſpeeches I cannot tel, nor I wil not thinke that they grew any way from her Maieſties owne ſpeeches, whoſe memory I wil euer honour: if they did, ſhe is with God, and *miſerum eſt ab illis ledi, de quibus non poſsis queri*. But I muſt giue this teſtimonie to my Lord *Cecill*, that one time in his houſe at the Sauoy he dealt with me directly, and ſaid to me; Couſin, I heare it, but I beleeue it not, that you ſhould do ſome ill office to my Lord of *Eſſex*: for my part I am meerely paſſiue and not actiue in this action, and I follow

the Queene and that heauily, and I leaue her not; my Lord of *Essex* is one that in nature I could consent with as well as with any one liuing; the Queen indeed is my Soueraigne, and I am her creature, I may not leese her, and the same course I wold wish you to take: whereupon I satisfied him how farre I was from any such mind. And as sometimes it cometh to passe, that mens inclinations are opened more in a toy, then in a serious matter: A little before that time, being about the middle of Michaelmas terme, her Maiestie had a purpose to dine at my lodge at *Twickn*ã Parke, at which time I had (though I professe not to be a Poet) prepared a Sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on her Maiesties reconcilement

cilement to my Lord, which I remẽber alſo I ſhewed to a great perſon, & one of my Lords neareſt friends, who commended it: this though it be (as I ſaid) but a toy, yet it ſhewed plainely in what ſpirit I proceeded, and that I was ready not onely to do my Lord good offices, but to publiſh and declare my ſelfe for him; and neuer was I ſo ambitious of any thing in my life time, as I was to haue caried ſome token or fauour from her Maieſtie to my Lord, vſing all the art I had both to procure her Maieſtie to ſend, and my ſelfe to be the meſſenger: for as to the former, I feared not to alleage to her, that this proceeding toward my Lord, was a thing towards the people verie implauſible, and therefore wiſhed her

Maieſtie howſoeuer ſhe did, yet to diſcharge her ſelfe of it; and to lay it vpon others, and therefore that ſhe ſhould intermixe her proceeding with ſome immediate graces from her ſelfe, that the world might take knowledge of her Princely nature and goodneſſe, leſt it ſhould alienate the hearts of her people from her. Which I did ſtand vpon, knowing very well, that if ſhe once relented to ſend or viſite, thoſe demonſtrations wold proue matter of ſubſtance for my Lords good. And to draw that employment vpon my ſelfe, I aduiſed her Maieſtie, that whenſoeuer God ſhould moue her to turne the light of her fauour towards my Lord, to make ſignification to him thereof: that her Maieſtie if ſhe did

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it not in perſon, would at the leaſt vſe ſome ſuch meane as might not intitle themſelues to any part of the thanks, as perſons that were thought mightie with her, to worke her, or to bring her about; but to vſe ſome ſuch as could not be thought but a meere conduct of her owne goodneſſe: but I could neuer preuaile with her, though I am perſwaded ſhe ſaw plainely whereat I leuelled: but ſhe had me in iealouſie, that I was not hers intirely, but ſtill had inward and deepe reſpects towards my Lord, more then ſtood at that time with her will and pleaſure. About the ſame time I remember an anſwer of mine in a matter which had ſome affinitie with my Lords cauſe, which though it grew from

me, went after about in others names. For her Maiesty being mightily incensed with that booke which was dedicated to my Lord of *Essex*, being a storie of the first yeare of king *Henry* the fourth, thinking it a seditious prelude to put into the peoples heads boldnesse and faction, said she had good opinion that there was treason in it, and asked me if I could not find any places in it, that might be drawne within case of treason: whereto I answered; for treason surely I found none, but for fellonie very many. And when her Maiestie hastily asked me wherein; I told her, the Author had committed very apparant theft, for he had taken most of the sentences of *Cornelius Tacitus*, and translated them into

into Engliſh, and put them into his text. And another time when the Queene would not be perſwaded, that it was his writing whoſe name was to it, but that it had ſome more miſchieuous Author, and ſaid with great indignation, that ſhe would haue him racked to produce his Author, I replyed, Nay Madame, he is a Doctor, neuer racke his perſon, but racke his ſtile; let him haue pen, inke, and paper, and helpe of bookes, and be enioyned to continue the ſtorie where it breaketh off, and I will vndertake by collecting the ſtiles, to iudge whether he were the Author or no. But for the maine matter, ſure I am, when the Queene at any time asked mine opinion of my Lords caſe, I euer in one tenor, ſaid vnto

her: that they were faults which the Law might tearme Contempts, becauſe they were the tranſgreſſion of her particular directions and inſtructions: but then what defence might be made of them, in regard of the great intereſt the perſon had in her Maieſties fauour, in regard of the greatneſſe of his place, and the ampleneſſe of his Commiſſion; in regard of the nature of the buſineſſe being action of warre, which in cõmon caſes cannot be tyed to ſtrictneſſe of inſtructions, in regard of the diſtance of the place, hauing alſo a ſea betweene that demaunds and commands, muſt be ſubiect to wind and weather; in regard of a counſell of State in *Ireland* which he had at his backe to auow his actions vpon,

and

and laſtly in regard of a good intention that he would alleadge for himſelfe, which I told her in ſome religions was held to be a ſufficient diſpenſation for Gods commaundements, much more for Princes. In all theſe regards, I beſought her Maieſtie to be aduiſed againe and again, how ſhe brought the cauſe into any publike queſtion: nay, I went further, for I told her, my Lord was an eloquent and well ſpoken man, and beſides his eloquence of nature or art, he had an eloquence of accident which paſſed them both, which was the pittie and beneuolence of his hearers; and therefore that when he ſhould come to his anſwer for himſelfe, I doubted his words would haue ſo vnequall paſſage aboue

theirs that ſhould charge him, as would not be for her Maieſties honour; and therefore wiſhed the concluſion might be, that they might wrap it vp priuatly betweene themſelues, and that ſhe would reſtore my Lord to his former attendance, with ſome addition of honour to take away diſcontent. But this I will neuer deny, that I did ſhew no approbation generally of his being ſent back againe into *Ireland*, both becauſe it would haue caried a repugnancie with my former diſcourſe, and becauſe I was in mine owne heart fully perſwaded, that it was not good neither for the Queene, nor for the State, nor for himſelfe: and yet I did not diſſwade it neither, but left it euer as *locus lubricus*. For this particularitie

cularitie I do well remember, that after your Lordſhip was named for the place in *Ireland*, and not long before your going, it pleaſed her Maieſtie at *White hall* to ſpeake to me of that nomination: at which time I ſaid to her, Surely Madame, if you meane not to employ my Lord of *Eſſex* thither againe, your Maieſtie cannot make a better choice, and was going on to ſhew ſome reaſon; and her Maieſtie interrupted me with great paſſion: *Eſſex*! (ſaid ſhe) whenſoeuer I ſend *Eſſex* backe again into *Irelãd*, I will marrie you, claime it of me: wherunto I ſaid, Well Madame, I will releaſe that contract if his going be for the good of your State. Immediatly after the Queene had thought of a courſe (which was

alſo executed) to haue ſomewhat publiſhed in the Starre-chamber, for the ſatisfaction of the world touching my Lord of *Eſſex* his reſtraint, and my Lord of *Eſſex* not to be called to it, but occaſion to be taken by reaſon of ſome Libels then diſperſed; which when her Maieſtie propounded vnto me, I was vtterly againſt it; and told her plainely, that the people would ſay, that my Lord was wounded vpon his backe, and that Iuſtice had her ballance taken from her, which euer conſiſted of an accuſation and defence, with many other quicke and ſignificant tearms to that purpoſe: in ſo much that I remember I ſaid, that my Lord *in foro famæ* was too hard for her; and therefore wiſhed her as I had done before,

before, to wrap it vp priuatly. And certainely I offended her at that time, which was rare with me: for I cal to mind that both the *Christmas*, *Lent*, and *Easter* Terme following, though I came diuers times to her vpon Law busines, yet me thought her face and maner was not so cleare and open to me, as it was at the first. And she did directly charge me, that I was absent that day at the Starre-chamber, which was very true; but I alleaged some indisposition of bodie to excuse it: and during all the time aforesaid, there was *altum silentium* from her to me touching my Lord of *Essex* causes.

But towardes the end of Easter tearme, her Maiestie brake with me, and told me that she had found my

words true, for that the proceeding in the Starre-chamber had done no good, but rather kindled factious bruites (as ſhe termed them) then quenched them, and therefore that ſhe was determined now for the ſatisfaction of the world, to proceed againſt my Lord in the Star-chamber by an information *ore tenus*, and to haue my lord brought to his anſwer: howbeit ſhe ſaid ſhe wold aſſure me, that whatſoeuer ſhe did, ſhould be towards my Lord *ad caſtigationem, & non ad deſtructionem*, as indeed ſhe had often repeated the ſame phraſe before: whereunto I ſaid (to the end vtterly to diuert her:) Madam if you will haue me ſpeake to you in this argument, I muſt ſpeake to you as Frier *Bacons* head ſpake, that ſaid firſt,

Time

Time is, and then, *Time was*, and *time would neuer be*; for certainly (ſaid I) it is now far too late, the matter is cold and hath taken too much winde; whereat ſhe ſeemed againe offended and roſe from me, and that reſolutiõ for a while continued; and after, in the beginning of Midſomer terme, I attending her, and finding her ſetled in that reſolution (which I heard of alſo otherwiſe) ſhe falling vpon the like ſpeech, it is true, that ſeeing no other remedie, I ſaid to her ſlightly, Why Madame, if you will needs haue a proceeding, you were beſt haue it in ſome ſuch ſort as *Ouid* ſpake of his miſtris, *Eſt aliquid luce patente minus*, to make a counſeltable matter of it, and there an end; which ſpeech againe ſhe ſeemed to take in il

part, but yet I thinke it did good at that time, and holpe to diuert that courſe of proceeding by informatiõ in the Starre-chamber. Neuertheles afterwards it pleaſed her to make a more ſolemne matter of the proceeding; and ſome few dayes after when order was giuen that the matter ſhold be heard at *York* houſe, before an aſſembly of Counſellers, Peeres, and Iudges, and ſome audience of men of qualitie to be admitted, and then did ſome principal Counſellers ſend for vs of the learned Counſell, and notifie her Maieſties pleaſure vnto vs, ſaue that it was ſaid to me openly by one of them, that her Maieſty was not yet reſolued whether ſhe would haue me forborne in the buſines or no. And hereupon might ariſe

that

that other ſiniſter and vntrue ſpeech that I heare is raiſed of me, how I was a ſuter to bee vſed againſt my Lord of *Eſſex* at that time: for it is very true, that I that knew well what had paſſed betweene the Queen and me, and what occaſion I had giuen her both of diſtaſt & diſtruſt, in croſſing her diſpoſition, by ſtanding ſtedfaſtly for my Lord of *Eſſex*, & ſuſpecting it alſo to be a ſtratageme ariſing from ſome particular emulation, I writ to her two or three words of complement, ſignifying to her Maieſtie, that if ſhe would be pleaſed to ſpare me in my Lord of *Eſſex* cauſe, out of the conſideration ſhe tooke of my obligation towards him, I ſhould reckō it for one of her higheſt fauors; but otherwiſe deſiring her Maieſtie

to thinke that I knew the degrees of duties, and that no particular obligatiō whatſoeuer to any ſubiect could ſupplant or weaken that entirenes of dutie that I did owe and beare to her and her ſeruice; & this was the goodly ſute I made, being a reſpect no mā that had his wittes could haue omitted: but neuertheleſſe I had a further reach in it, for I iudged that dayes worke would be a full period of any bitterneſſe or harſhnes betweene the Queene and my Lord, and therefore if I declared my ſelfe fully according to her mind at that time, which could not do my Lord any manner of preiudice, I ſhould keepe my credit with her euer after, whereby to doe my Lord ſeruice. Hereupon the next news that I heard, was, that we were all

all ſent for againe, and that her Maieſties pleaſure was, we all ſhould haue parts in the buſineſſe; and the Lords falling into diſtribution of our parts, it was allotted to me, that I ſhould ſet foorth ſome vndutifull cariage of my Lord, in giuing occaſion and countenance to a ſeditious Pamphlet, as it was tearmed, which was dedicated vnto him, which was the booke before mentioned of king *Henry* the fourth. Whereupon I replyed to that allotment, and ſaid to their Lordſhips, that it was an old matter, and had no maner of coherence with the reſt of the charge, being matters of *Ireland*, and therefore that I hauing bene wronged by bruites before, this wold expoſe me to them more; and it would be ſaid,

I gaue in euidence mine owne tales. It was anſwered againe with good ſhew, that becauſe it was conſidered how I ſtood tyed to my Lord of *Eſſex*, therefore that part was thought fitteſt for me which did him leaſt hurt: for that wheras all the reſt was matter of charge and accuſation, this onely was but matter of caueat and admonition. Wherewith though I was in mine owne mind litle ſatiſfied, becauſe I knew wel a man were better to be charged with ſome faults, then admoniſhed of ſome others: yet the concluſion binding vpon the Queenes pleaſure directly, *volens nolens*, I could not auoide that part that was laid vpon me; which part if in the deliuerie I did handle not tenderly, (though no man before

fore me did in ſo cleare tearmes free my Lord from al diſloyaltie as I did) that, your Lordſhip knoweth, muſt be aſcribed to the ſuperior dutie I did owe to the Queenes fame and and honor in a publike proceeding, and partly to the intention I had to vphold my ſelf in credit & ſtrength with the Queene, the better to be able to do my Lord good offices afterwards: for aſſoone as this day was paſt, I loſt no time, but the very next day following (as I remember) I attended her Maieſty, fully reſolued to try and put in vre my vtmoſt indeuour, ſo farre as I in my weakeneſſe could giue furtherance to bring my Lord againe ſpeedily into Court & into fauour, and knowing (as I ſuppoſed at leaſt) how the Queene was

to be vſed, I thought that to make her conceiue that the matter went well then, was the way to make her leaue off there; and I remember wel, I ſaid to her, you haue now Madame obtained victorie ouer two things which the greateſt Princes in the world cannot at their wils ſubdue: the one is ouer Fame, the other is ouer a great mind: for ſurely the world be now I hope reaſonably well ſatisfied; and for my Lord, he did ſhew that humiliation towards your Maieſtie, as I am perſwaded he was neuer in his life time more fit for your fauor then he is now: therfore if your Maieſtie will not marre it by lingring, but giue ouer at the beſt, and now you haue made ſo good a full point, receiue him againe

with

with tenderneſſe, I ſhall then thinke that all that is paſt is for the beſt. Wherat I remember ſhe took exceeding great contentment, and did often iterate and put me in mind, that ſhe had euer ſaid, that her proceedings ſhould be *ad reparationem*, and not *ad ruinam*, as who ſaith, that now was the time I ſhould well perceiue, that that ſaying of hers ſhould proue true. And further ſhe willed me to ſet downe in writing all that paſſed that day. I obeyed her commandement, and within ſome fewe daies brought her againe the narration, which I did reade vnto her at two ſeuerall after-noones: and when I came to that part that ſet foorth my Lords owne anſwer, (which was my principall care) I do well beare in

mind, that ſhe was extraordinarily mooued with it, in kindneſſe and relenting towards my Lord, and told me afterwards (ſpeaking how well I had expreſſed my Lords part) that ſhe perceiued old loue would not eaſily be forgotten: wherto I anſwered ſuddenly, that I hoped ſhe meant that by her ſelfe. But in concluſion, I did aduiſe her that now ſhe had taken a repreſentation of the matter to her ſelfe, that ſhe would let it go no further: for Madame (ſaid I) the fire blazeth well alreadie, what ſhould you tumble it: and beſides it may pleaſe you keepe a conuenience with your ſelfe in this caſe: for ſince your expreſſe directiō was, there ſhould be no Regiſter nor Clearke to take this ſentence, nor no

record

record or memoriall made vp of the proceeding, why ſhould you now do that popularly, which you would not admit to be done iudicially? Whereupon ſhe did agree, that that writing ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and I thinke there were not fiue perſons that euer ſaw it. But from this time foorth during the whole latter end of that Sommer, while the Court was at *Nonſuch* and *Otlands*, I made it my taske and ſcope to take and giue occaſions for my Lords reintegration in his fortune: which my intention I did alſo ſignifie to my Lord aſſoone as euer he was at his libertie; whereby I might without perill of the Queenes indignation write to him, and hauing receiued from his Lordſhip a courteous and

louing acceptation of my good will and indeuours, I did apply it in all my acceſſes to the Queene, which were very many at that time, and purpoſely ſought and wrought vpon other variable pretences, but onely and chiefly for that purpoſe. And on the other ſide, I did not forbeare to giue my Lord from time to time faithfull aduertiſement what I found, and what I wiſhed. And I drew for him by his appointment ſome letters to her Maieſtie, which though I knew well his Lordſhips gift and ſtile was farre better then mine owne, yet becauſe he required it, alleaging that by his long reſtraint he was growne almoſt a ſtranger to the Queens preſent conceipts, I was readie to performe it: and ſure I am

that

that for the ſpace of ſixe weekes, or two moneths it proſpered ſo well, as I expected continually his reſtoring to his attendance. And I was neuer better welcome to the Queene, nor more made of, then when I ſpake fulleſt and boldeſt for him: in which kind the particulars were exceeding many, whereof for an example I wil remember to your Lordſhip one or two; as at one time I cal to mind, her Maieſtie was ſpeaking of a fellow that vndertook to cure, or at leaſt to eaſe my brother of his goute, and aſked me how it went forwards; and I told her Maieſtie, that at the firſt he receiued good by it, but after in the courſe of his cure he found himſelfe at a ſtay or rather worſe: the Queene ſaid againe, I will tell you *Bacon* the

error of it, the maner of theſe Phiſitions and eſpecially theſe Empericks is to continue one kind of medicine, which at the firſt is proper, being to draw out the ill humor, but after they haue not the diſcretion to chaunge their medicine, but apply ſtill drawing medicines, when they ſhold rather intend to cure and corroborate the part. Good Lord Madame (ſaid I) how wiſely and aptly can you ſpeake and diſcerne of Phiſicke miniſtred to the bodie, and conſider not that there is the like occaſion of Phiſicke miniſtred to the mind: as now in the caſe of my Lord of *Eſſex*, your Princely word euer was, that you intended euer to reforme his mind, and not ruine his fortune: I know well you cannot but

but think that you haue drawne the humor ſufficiently, and therefore it were more then time, and it were but for doubt of mortifying or exulcerating, that you did apply and miniſter ſtrength and comfort vnto him: for theſe ſame gradations of yours are fitter to corrupt then correct any mind of greatneſſe. And an other time I remember ſhe told me for newes, that my Lord had written vnto her ſome very dutifull letters, and that ſhe had bene moued by them, and when ſhe tooke it to be the abundance of the heart, ſhe found it to be but a preparatiue to a ſute for the renewing of his farme of Sweet wines: whereunto I replyed; O Madame, how doth your Maieſtie conſter of theſe things, as if theſe

two could not ſtand well together, which indeed nature hath planted in all creatures. For there are but two ſympathies, the one towards *Perfection*, the other towards *Preſeruation*. That to Perfection, as the iron contendeth to the Loadſtone: that to Preſeruation, as the vine will creepe towards a ſtake or prop that ſtands by it, not for any loue to the ſtake, but to vphold it ſelfe. And therefore Madame, you muſt diſtinguiſh my Lords deſire to do you ſeruice, is as to his perfection, that which he thinkes himſelf to be born for: whereas his deſire to obtaine this thing of you, is but for a ſuſtentation. And not to trouble your Lordſhip with many other particulars like vnto theſe, it was at the ſelfe

ſame

ſame time that I did draw with my Lords priuitie, and by his appointment, two letters, the one written as from my brother, the other as an anſwer returned from my Lord, both to be by me in ſecret maner ſhewed to the Queene, which it pleaſed my Lord very ſtrangely to mention at the barre: the ſcope of which were but to repreſent and picture foorth vnto her Maieſty my Lords mind to be ſuch, as I knew her Maieſtie wold faineſt haue had it, which letters whoſoeuer ſhall ſee, (for they cannot now be retracted or altered, being by reaſon of my brothers, or his Lordſhips ſeruants deliuerie, long ſince comen into diuerſe hands) let him iudge, ſpecially if he knew the Queene, and do remember thoſe

times, whether they were not the labours of one that ſought to bring the Queene about for my Lord of *Eſſex* his good. The troth is, that the iſſue of all his dealing grew to this, that the Queene by ſome ſlackneſſe of my Lords, as I imagine, liked him worſe and worſe, and grew more incenſed towards him. Then, ſhe remembring belike the continuall, and inceſſant, and confident ſpeeches and courſes that I had held on my Lords ſide, became vtterly alienated from me, and for the ſpace of at leaſt three moneths, which was betweene Michaelmas and Newyears tide following, would not as much as looke on me, but turned away fró me with expreſſe and purpoſe-like diſcountenance whereſoeuer ſhe ſaw

ſaw me: and at ſuch time as I deſired to ſpeake with her about Law buſineſſe, euer ſent me forth very ſlight refuſals; inſomuch as it is moſt true, that immediatly after Newyeares tide I deſired to ſpeake with her; and being admitted to her, I dealt with her plainely and ſaid: Madame I ſee you withdraw your fauor from me, and now I haue loſt many friends for your ſake I ſhall leeſe you too: you haue put me like one of thoſe that the Frenchmen call *Enfans perdus*, that ſerue on foote before horſmen, ſo haue you put me into matters of enuie without place, or without ſtrength: and I know at Cheſſe a pawn before the king, is euer much plaid vpon: a great many loue me not, becauſe they thinke I haue bene

againſt my Lord of *Eſſex*; and you loue me not, becauſe you know I haue bene for him: yet will I neuer repent me, that I haue dealt in ſimplicitie of heart towards you both, without reſpect of cautions to my ſelfe: and therefore *viuus videnſq; pereo*. If I do breake my necke, I ſhall do it in manner as Maiſter *Dorrington* did it, which walked on the battlements of the Church many daies, and tooke a view and ſuruey where he ſhould fall: and ſo Madame (ſaid I) I am not ſo ſimple, but that I take a proſpect of mine ouerthrow, only I thought I would tell you ſo much, that you may know that it was faith, and not folly that brought me into it, and ſo I will pray for you. Vpon which ſpeeches of mine vttered with

with ſome paſſion, it is true her Maieſtie was exceedingly moued, and accumulated a number of kind and gracious words vpon me, and willed me to reſt vpon this, *Gratia mea ſufficit*, and a number of other ſenſible and tender words and demonſtrations, ſuch as more could not be; but as touching my Lord of *Eſſex*, *ne verbum quidem*. Wherupon I departed, reſting then determined to meddle no more in the matter; as that, that I ſaw would ouerthrowe me, and not be able to do him any good. And thus I made mine owne peace with mine owne confidence at that time; and this was the laſt time I ſaw her Maieſtie, before the eight of *Februarie*, which was the day of my Lord of *Eſſex* his misfor-

tune. After which time, for that I performed at the barre in my publike ſeruice, your Lordſhip knoweth by the rules of dutie, that I was to do it honeſtly, and without preuarication: but for any putting my ſelfe into it, I proteſt before God, I neuer moued neither the Queene, nor any perſon liuing concerning my being vſed in the ſeruice, either of euidence or examination: but it was meerely laid vpon me with the reſt of my fellowes. And for the time which paſſed, I meane betweene the arraignement and my Lords ſuffering, I well remember I was but once with the Queene; at what time though I durſt not deale directly for my Lord as things then ſtood; yet generally I did both commend her

Maieſties

Maieſties mercie, tearming it to her as an excellent balme that did continually diſtill from her Soueraigne hands, and made an excellent odour in the ſenſes of her people: and not onely ſo, but I tooke hardineſſe to extenuate, not the fact; for that I durſt not, but the danger, telling her that if ſome baſe or cruell minded perſons had entred into ſuch an action, it might haue cauſed much bloud and combuſtion: but it appeared well they were ſuch as knew not how to play the malefactors, and ſome other words which I now omit. And as for the reſt of the cariage of my ſelfe in that ſeruice, I haue many honorable witneſſes that can tell, that the next day after my Lords arraignement, by my diligence and

information touching the qualitie and nature of the offendors, ſixe of nine were ſtayed, which otherwiſe had bene attainted, I bringing their Lordſhips letter for their ſtay, after the Iurie was ſworne to paſſe vpon them: ſo neare it went, and how carefull I was, and made it my part, that whoſoeuer was in trouble about that matter, aſſoone as euer his caſe was ſufficiently knowne and defined of, might not continue in reſtraint, but be ſet at libertie: and many other parts, which I am well aſſured of ſtood with the dutie of an honeſt man. But indeed I will not deny for the caſe of Sir *Thomas Smith* of *London*, the Queene demaunding my opinion of it, I told her, I thought it was as hard as many of

of the reſt: but what was the reaſon? becauſe at that time I had ſeene only his accuſation, and had neuer bene preſent at any examination of his: and the matter ſo ſtanding, I had bin very vntrue to my ſeruice, if I had not deliuered that opinion. But afterwards vpon a reexamination of ſome that charged him, who weakned their owne teſtimonie; and eſpecially hearing himſelfe *viua voce*, I went inſtantly to the Queene out of the ſoundneſſe of my conſcience, and not regarding what opinion I had formerly deliuered, told her Maieſtie, I was ſatisfied and reſolued in my conſcience, that for the reputation of the action, the plot was to countenance the action further by him in reſpect of his place, then they

had indeed any intereſt or intelligence with him. It is very true alſo, about that time her Maieſty taking a liking of my pen, vpon that which I had done before concerning the proceeding at *Yorke houſe*, and likewiſe vpon ſome other declarations, which in former times by her appointment I put in writing, commaunded me to penne that booke, which was publiſhed for the better ſatisfaction of the world: which I did, but ſo, as neuer Secretarie had more particular and expreſſe directions, and inſtructions in euery point how to guide my hand in it: and not onely ſo, but after that I had made a firſt draught therof, and propounded it to certaine principall Councellers by her Maieſties appoint-

pointment, it was peruſed, weighed, cenſured, altered, and made almoſt anew, writing according to their Lordſhippes better conſideration, wherein their Lordſhippes and my ſelfe both were as religious and curious of truth, as deſirous of ſatisfaction: and my ſelfe indeed gaue only words and forme of ſtile in purſuing their direction. And after it had paſſed their allowance, it was againe exactly peruſed by the Queen her ſelfe, and ſome alterations made againe by her appointment: nay, and after it was ſet to print, the Queene, who as your Lordſhippe knoweth, as ſhe was excellent in great matters, ſo ſhe was exquiſite in ſmall: and noted that I could not forget my auncient reſpect to my

Lord of *Eſſex*, in terming him euer My Lord of *Eſſex*, My Lord of *Eſſex*, in almoſt euery page of the booke, which ſhe thought not fit, but wold haue it made, *Eſſex*, or the late Earle of *Eſſex*: whereupon of force it was printed *de nouo*, and the firſt copies ſuppreſſed by her peremptorie commaundement. And this my good Lord, to my furtheſt remembrance, is all that paſſed, wherein I had part, which I haue ſet downe as neare as I could in the very words and ſpeeches that were vſed, not becauſe they are worthie the repetition, I mean thoſe of mine owne; but to the end your Lordſhip may liuely and plainly diſcerne betweene the face of truth, and a

ſmooth

ſmooth tale. And the rather alſo be-cauſe in things that paſſed a good while ſince, the very wordes and phraſes did ſometimes bring to my remembrance the matters, wherein I report me to your Honourable iudgement, whether you do not ſee the traces of an honeſt man: and had I bene as well beleeued either by the Queene or by my Lord, as I was well heard by them both, both my Lord had bene fortunate, and ſo had my ſelfe in his fortune.

To conclude therfore, I humbly pray your Lordſhippe to pardon me for troubling you with this long Narration, and that you will vouchſafe to hold me in your good opinion, till you know I haue

deſerued, or find that I ſhall deſerue the contrarie; and euen ſo I continue

At your Lordſhips Honorable commandements very humbly.

FINIS.

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